

# SOME OBSERVATIONS ON NORTH-MOLUCCAN MALAY

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This paper lists and discusses a number of features which distinguish North-Moluccan Malay from the national language, Standard Indonesian. The language is described as a continuum with Standard Indonesian as its target language, and highly variable even within the speech of one and the same speaker. A few texts illustrate these points.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

When I was asked to write a paper on Moluccan Malay for the present volume of NUSA my first reaction was to reject the proposal out of hand. My main exposure to the variants of Indonesian which function as interethnic contact languages in North-East Indonesia has been to Irian Jaya Malay, an offshoot of the Malay dialect spoken in the Central Moluccas, and most of that was more than twenty years ago. I felt I would have little to add to Suharno's recent article on Irian Jaya Malay (Suharno 1981) and to Collins' treatise on Ambonese Malay (Collins 1980). My only other experience with Moluccan Malay comes from four months of field work in the North Moluccas (1980-1981) where I made a survey of the non-Austronesian languages of the area. Four months is hardly enough time to acquire a good knowledge of a local *lingua franca*, especially as my informants usually conversed with me in as close an approximation of Bahasa Indonesia as they could manage. Still, the more salient features of North-Moluccan Malay cannot fail to be noticed by anybody who works for some time in the area. And as they seem to be somewhat different from Irian Jaya and Ambonese Malay - and from Minahasa Malay, judging by the text published by Watuseke (1981) - it might be worthwhile to report on them. When writing down my observations on North-Moluccan Malay I shall contrast it with the national language, Standard Indonesian. I shall make no attempt to delimit it from Minahasa and Ambonese Malay, nor shall I deal in any detail with historical and sociolinguistic questions, as they require a much more thorough knowledge of the linguistic situation in the area than I can bring to bear.

North-Moluccan Malay is used as a *lingua franca* in Halmahera and its offshore islands to the North and West. In contrast to Ambonese and Minahasa Malay it does not seem to have a substantial core of speakers for whom it is the first language.<sup>1</sup> Judging by the earliest text

available in the language, a history of Ternate published by Van der Crab (Crab 1878) North-Moluccan Malay had in the latter half of the 19th century acquired most, if not all, of its present characteristics.<sup>2</sup> We don't know however whether it was spoken uniformly over the whole North-Moluccan area. If it was, this situation changed when Bahasa Indonesia became the national language and by virtue of that, the target language for communication between speakers of different mother tongues. North-Moluccan Malay nowadays is a continuum which at its top approaches Standard Indonesian and towards the bottom shows an increasing number of peculiarities. Any utterance in North-Moluccan Malay displays those peculiarities to a greater or lesser degree depending on such variables as the speaker's and the addressee's knowledge of North-Moluccan Malay and Standard Indonesian, the speaker's status relative to the addressee, and the topic of conversation.

I shall begin by taking North-Moluccan Malay at its 'bottom' level, i.e. by describing all the peculiarities I noticed when comparing it with its target language. Then I shall present a few short texts which illustrate these features and show how they tend to become mixed with, or replaced by, features of Standard Indonesian. 'North-Moluccan Malay' will be abbreviated NMM, 'Standard Indonesian' SI.

## 2 NON-SI FEATURES OF NMM: A PRELIMINARY INVENTORY

### 2.1 The lexicon

The NMM lexicon contains a substantial number of words which have no cognates in SI. Most of these come from the Ternate language, one of the non-Austronesian (Papuan) languages spoken in the North Moluccas.<sup>3</sup> The remainder are Dutch or Portuguese loans not found in SI or loans which come from as yet unidentified

sources.<sup>4</sup> NMM words which have cognates in SI often show formal and/or semantic differences from their SI counterparts. The formal differences are dealt with in 2.3. - 2.11. below; semantic differences will not be discussed systematically, but will show up in the examples throughout this paper.

## 2.2 The phoneme inventory

The phoneme inventory of NMM is almost identical to that of SI. The only difference is the presence of two more diphthongs, *ae* and *ao*:

Consonants:				Vowels:		
<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ny</i>		<i>a</i>		
<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>h</i>			
	<i>r</i>					
	<i>l</i>			Diphthongs:		
<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>			<i>au, ao, ai, ae, oi</i>		

Palatal consonants and voiced stops do not occur in word-final position. Word-final *p*, *t*, *k* are usually unreleased. A glottal stop, which in SI is the word-final allophone of *k*, does not occur in NMM.

## 2.3 Correspondences involving SI stops

1. Word-final stop in SI often corresponds to  $\emptyset$  in NMM:

a) <i>p</i> :	$\emptyset$		
<i>merayap</i>	<i>meraya</i>		'to crawl'
<i>tutup</i>	<i>tutu</i>		'to close'
b) <i>t</i> :	$\emptyset$		
<i>empat</i>	<i>ampa</i>		'four'
<i>obat</i>	<i>uba</i>		'medicine'
<i>mulut</i>	<i>mulu</i>		'mouth'
c) <i>k</i> :	$\emptyset$		
<i>membalik</i>	<i>bale</i>		'to turn over'
<i>berbisik-bisik</i>	<i>bisi-bisi</i>		'to whisper'
<i>masuk</i>	<i>masu, maso</i>		'to enter'

2. Sporadically occurring correspondences are:

a) SI <i>t</i> :	NMM <i>r</i>		
<i>hanyut</i>	<i>anyur</i>		'to float'
<i>kabut</i>	<i>kabur</i>		'fog, haze'
<i>lalat</i>	<i>lalar</i>		'housefly'
b) SI <i>d</i> :	NMM <i>r</i>		
<i>tidak</i>	<i>tera, tara</i>		'not'
c) SI <i>j</i> :	NMM <i>d, c, or ny</i>		
<i>berjongkok</i>	<i>dongko</i>		'to squat'

<i>menjabat tangan</i>	<i>cobo tangan</i>		'to shake hands'
<i>menginjak</i>	<i>inya</i>		'to tread on'
d) SI <i>p</i> :	NMM <i>f</i>		
<i>peniti</i>	<i>feneti</i>		'safety-pin'

## 2.4 Correspondences involving SI and/or NMM nasals

1. Where SI has word final *m*, NMM has *ng*:

<i>bayam</i>	<i>bayang</i>		'spinach'
<i>jarum</i>	<i>jarung</i>		'needle'
<i>ketam</i>	<i>ketang</i>		'crab'

2. Where SI has word-final *n*, NMM sometimes has *ng*:

<i>menonton</i>	<i>nontong</i>		'to look at'
<i>embun</i>	<i>ombong</i>		'dew'
<i>menelan</i>	<i>telang</i>		'to swallow'

3. Isolated correspondences involving nasals are:

a) SI <i>n</i> :	NMM <i>ny</i>		
<i>manik-manik</i>	<i>manyi-manyi</i>		'beads'
b) SI $\emptyset$ :	NMM <i>n</i> or <i>ng</i> in word-final position		
<i>belanga</i>	<i>balangan</i>		'cooking pot'
<i>mulai</i>	<i>mulaing</i>		'to begin'

## 2.5 Correspondences involving SI fricatives

1. SI *h* corresponds to NMM  $\emptyset$ :

<i>hujan</i>	<i>ujang</i>		'rain'
<i>menghamburkan</i>	<i>ambur</i>		'to scatter (seed)'
<i>melihat</i>	<i>lia</i>		'to see'
<i>tahun</i>	<i>taun</i>		'year'
<i>membelah</i>	<i>bela</i>		'to split something'
<i>basah</i>	<i>basa</i>		'wet'

2. In word-final position SI *h* sometimes corresponds to NMM *ng*:

<i>jatuh</i>	<i>jatong</i>		'to fall'
<i>runtuh</i>	<i>runtung</i>		'to collapse'
<i>menyentuh</i>	<i>sontong, sonto</i>		'to nudge'

3. Isolated correspondences are:

SI <i>h</i> :	NMM <i>k</i>		
<i>bodoh</i>	<i>bodok</i>		'stupid'
SI <i>s</i> :	NMM <i>t</i>		
<i>susu</i>	<i>toto</i>		'breast (female)'

## 2.6 Correspondences involving SI *r* and *l*

### 1. SI *r* and *l* are sometimes absent in NMM:

<i>mengambil</i>	<i>ambe</i>	'to take'
<i>memelihara</i>	<i>piara</i>	'to care for'
<i>pergi</i>	<i>pigi</i>	'to go away'

### 2. For *l*, the reverse is also true:

SI  $\emptyset$  : NMM *l*:

<i>kena</i>	<i>kenal</i>	'hit by, affected by'
<i>kemarin</i>	<i>kelemaren</i>	'yesterday'

## 2.7 Vowel correspondences

### 1. SI $\text{ə}$ (written: *e*) corresponds to any of the other vowels in NMM; generally the NMM vowel is the same as the vowel in the next syllable of the word:

<i>empat</i>	<i>ampa</i>	'four'
<i>bengkak</i>	<i>bangka</i>	'swollen'
<i>berceritera</i>	<i>carita, ce-rita</i>	'to tell something'
<i>memetik</i>	<i>bapete</i>	'to pick (fruit)'
<i>membelah</i>	<i>bela</i>	'to split something'
<i>mencelup</i>	<i>colo</i>	'to immerse'
<i>penuh</i>	<i>pono</i>	'full'
<i>kencing</i>	<i>kincing</i>	'urine'
<i>pergi</i>	<i>pigi</i>	'to go away'
<i>perut</i>	<i>puru</i>	'belly'

### 2. A high vowel in SI often corresponds to a mid vowel in the same place of articulation in NMM:

#### a) SI *i* : NMM *e*

<i>membalik</i>	<i>bale</i>	'to turn over'
<i>peniti</i>	<i>feneti</i>	'safety-pin'
<i>lebih</i>	<i>lebe</i>	'more'

#### b) SI *u* : NMM *o*:

<i>mengikut</i>	<i>iko</i>	'to follow'
<i>jatuh</i>	<i>jatong</i>	'to fall'
<i>masuk</i>	<i>maso</i>	'to enter'

### 3. Where SI has *a*, NMM sometimes has *o*:

<i>dalam</i>	<i>dolong</i>	'deep'
<i>menjabat (tangan)</i>	<i>cobo (tangan)</i>	'to shake hands'

### 4. SI *ai* corresponds to NMM *e*, and SI *au* to NMM *o*, or *u*, but only when *ai* and *au* are word final:

<i>bangkai</i>	<i>bangke</i>	'corpse'
<i>capai</i>	<i>cape</i>	'tired'
<i>pandai</i>	<i>pande</i>	'clever'
<i>mau</i>	<i>mo</i>	'to wish, to want'
<i>kalau</i>	<i>kalo, kalu</i>	'if'
<i>hijau</i>	<i>ijo</i>	'green'

but:

<i>laut</i>	<i>lau, lao</i>	'the sea'
<i>baik</i>	<i>bai, bae</i>	'good'
<i>naik</i>	<i>nai, nae</i>	'to climb'

## 2.8 Shortening

### 1. NMM has a tendency to shorten a number of words and syntactic constructions which occur with high frequency:

SI	NMM	
<i>dengan</i>	<i>dengan, deng</i>	'with'
<i>pergi</i>	<i>pigi, pi</i>	'to go away'
<i>(kita, kami)</i>	<i>kitorang, ki-</i>	'we'
	<i>tong, tong</i>	
<i>(mereka)</i>	<i>diorang, do-</i>	'they'
	<i>rang, dong</i>	

In NMM, *kita* has changed its original meaning 'we (inclusive)' to 'I'; obviously after this semantic change it has been compounded with *orang* 'people' to form the first person plural: \**kita orang* > *kitorang*, etc. 'we'; there is no inclusive-exclusive distinction in NMM. Similarly, *dia* 'third person singular' has been compounded with *orang* to form the third person plural: \**dia orang* > *diorang*, etc. *Diorang* seems to be archaic, at least I know it only from the History of Ternate (Crab 1878). *Dorang* is the commonly used form nowadays. Also quite common nowadays is *saya* instead of *kita*; as we shall see below it is subject to the same kind of reduction as *dia* and *dorang* in the possessive construction, a sign that it is a well integrated part of the NMM vocabulary. For the second person singular and plural the Ternate loan words *ngana* and *ngoni* respectively are used.

SI	NMM	
<i>(ke)pada</i>	<i>pada, pa</i>	'to, at' (see 2.14.)
<i>punya</i>	<i>punya, pun, pu, pe</i>	'to have' (SI); possessive marker (NMM; see 2.10.)
<i>saya punya</i>	<i>saya punya, saya pun, saya pu, sapu<sup>5</sup>, sape</i>	'mine' (SI); 'my' (NMM)
<i>dia punya</i>	<i>dia punya, dia pun, dia pu, dipu, dipe, depe<sup>5</sup></i>	'his, hers' (SI); 'his, her, its' (NMM)
<i>mereka punya</i>	<i>dorang punya, dong punya, dong pu, dong pe, dopu<sup>5</sup></i>	'theirs' (SI); 'their' (NMM)

<i>lebih baik</i>	<i>lebe bae, lebae, lebai</i>	'(it is) better (that..)'
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### 2. Corresponding to SI *sudah* NMM has *suda*, *su*, and *so*. *Su* and *so* are free

variants and occur only preverbally as a completive aspect marker. *Suda* occurs rarely in this position but is found in other syntactic positions as well. (See e.g. 2.14.)

## 2.9 Morphological differences

1. NMM has no productive affixes which correspond to affixes in SI. Insofar it has cognates of SI affixes they are either unproductive, or have lost their morphological identity altogether. They are:

a) *ma-* corresponding to SI *meN-*:

SI	NMM	
<i>menjahit</i>	<i>manyait</i>	'to sew'
<i>menyesal</i>	<i>manyasal</i>	'to regret'
<i>mengaung</i>	<i>mangaung</i>	'to bark'
<i>memaki</i>	<i>mamake</i>	'to scold, abuse'

b) *ba-* and *ta-*, corresponding to SI *ber-* and *ter-* respectively. However, there is no one-to-one correspondence between forms with *ba-* and *ber-*, and forms with *ta-* and *ter-*:

SI	NMM	
<i>beribut</i>	<i>baribu</i>	'to make noise'
<i>berlubang</i>	<i>balubang</i>	'to have a hole in it'
<i>menyapu</i>	<i>basapu</i>	'to sweep, to wipe'
<i>menunduk</i>	<i>batunduk</i>	'to bow, bend down'
<i>memetik</i>	<i>bapete</i>	'to pick (fruit)'
<i>berputar</i>	<i>taputar</i>	'to spin, turn round'
<i>tertikam</i>	<i>tatikam</i>	'stabbed'
<i>robek</i>	<i>tarobek</i>	'worn, torn'

In NMM *balayar* 'sail, to sail' *ba-* is no longer a morphologically distinct part of the word.

c) *pa-* corresponding to SI *peN*. *Pa-* has lost its original semantic function 'marker of the person who performs the action, of the instrument with which the action is performed' and is no longer morphologically distinct:

SI		NMM	
<i>pemalas</i>	'lazy person'	<i>pamalas</i>	'lazy'
<i>pendayung</i>	'rower, oar'	<i>panggayung</i>	'to row'

d) *-i* and *-kan* corresponding to SI *-i* and *-kan* respectively. In NMM they never occur together with the prefix *ma-*

(as in SI the *meN-* + *-i* and *meN-* + *-kan* forms):

SI	NMM	
<i>menyayangi</i>	<i>sayangi</i>	'to love'
<i>meletakkan</i>	<i>letakkan</i>	'to put down'

In a case like *kasi hormati* (Text II) 'to pay respect to', SI: *menghormati*, it is clear that *-i* has lost its morphological function completely; *hormati* functions as a noun in this context.

2. On the other hand NMM has one fully productive verbal prefix not found in SI. This is *baku-* which marks a verb as reciprocal:

NMM	
<i>baku-dapa</i>	'to meet each other'
<i>baku-kasi kode</i>	'to exchange looks of understanding'
<i>baku-konco</i>	'to get on well with each other'

*Baku-* entered NMM from the Ternate language. It has cognates in most of the non-Austronesian languages of North Halmahera (Sahu: *ma'u*, Galela *makV-* etc.) and is, if not of genuine non-Austronesian origin, an Austronesian loan of considerable antiquity in those languages.

## 2.10 The Possessive Noun Phrase

Possessive constructions in NMM differ from those in SI in that the possessor always precedes the possessed and is linked to it by a possessive marker *punya* (*pun*, *pu*, *pe*, cf. 2.8.), cognate with SI *punya* 'to own, possess'.

SI		NMM	
<i>rumah bapak</i>		<i>bapa punya rumah</i>	'father's house'
<i>rumahnya</i>		<i>dia punya ruma</i>	'his/her house'
<i>rumah mereka</i>		<i>dorang punya ruma</i>	'their house'

As mentioned in 2.8. above, *punya* is usually shortened to *pun*, *pu*, or *pe*, and the pronouns also tend to be shortened. The maximally reduced forms *sa*, *di*, and *do* are found only preceding *pu* or *pe*, which gives us reason to interpret those maximally reduced sequences as single words: *sapu*, *dipu/dipe/depe*, *dopu*. Also the assimilation of *i* to *e* in *depe* is an indication in that direction. So what we could have here is an early stage of the development of a separate series of possessive pronouns.

2.11 The Determiner + Noun Group

In SI the determiners *ini* and *itu* follow the noun. In NMM they can precede the noun, and there are also cases in which a noun has a preposed as well as a postposed determiner. There is a clear correlation with the syntactic position of the noun and degrees of emphasis:

Subject	Object	
Noun + Det.	Det. + Noun	Unmarked: non-emphatic
Det. + Noun	Det. + Noun + Det.	Marked: emphatic

*Dia harus letakkan itu* (T.II)<sup>6</sup>  
 he has to put down the  
*peda di luar*  
 machete at outside

'He has to put down the machete outside (the fence)'

*Untung-untung ini* (T.III)  
 thank goodness this  
*agama masuk*  
 religion enter

'Thank goodness the (Christian) religion came!'

*Jadi, bugitu dia inga* (T.IV)  
 so like that he think of  
*itu pesan itu,...*  
 that instruction that,...

'So, he obeyed the instruction as he was told...'

However, if the noun is possessed, or qualified, the determiner follows it also in object position:

*Jadi dia kumpul orang lima* (T.IIIc)  
 so he gather people five  
*kampung itu*  
 villages those

'So he gathered the people of the five villages,....'

*dorang makan saya punya* (T.IVc)  
 they eat my  
*ana ini*  
 child this

'They ate this child of mine'

2.12 Verb Phrases with *kasi*, *bikin*, and *ada*

1. In 2.9. we have seen that NMM *-i* and *-kan* are either unproductive suffixes or are completely fossilized. NMM however has another way of expressing concepts which in SI require an *-i* or *-kan* form: the verb phrases *bikin* + Verb and *kasi* + Verb. *Bikin* means 'to make'; *kasi* in this context is no more than a transitiviser. When it occurs by itself as a verb it means 'to give'. The construction with *bikin* correlates roughly with SI *-i* verbs, the construction with *kasi* with SI *-kan* verbs:

SI	NMM	
<i>memalukan</i>	<i>bikin malu</i>	'to make ashamed'
<i>menandai</i>	<i>bikin tanda</i>	'to mark (e.g. something as one's property)'

but also:

<i>beramai-ramai bikin rame</i>	'to feast, make merry'
<i>menghilangkan kasi ilang</i>	'to lose something'
<i>meluruskan kasi lurus</i>	'to straighten'
<i>meninggalkan kasi tinggal</i>	'to leave behind'

2. To express progressive aspect, or a state which exists at the time of speaking, NMM uses a construction in which the verb is preceded by *ada* 'to be (present)':

*Raja Moloko ada sakit kras* (T.I)  
 sultan Moluccas is ill very  
 'The Sultan of the Moluccas is very ill (at the moment)'

*Satu saat ..ada bikin rame* (T.IV)  
 One moment are make merry

'One day (they) were making merry'

In SI the same idea would be expressed without *ada*; sometimes *sedang* is used to indicate progressive aspect:

*Sultan Maluku (sedang) sakit keras.*  
*Suatu hari mereka berpesta pora.*

2.13 Topic - Comment

Unlike SI, MNN has what seems to me a topic-comment construction in which the topic is cross-referenced by a pronoun subject in the comment:

Ana satu itu / dia meninggal  
 child one that it die  
 lagi (T.IV)  
 too

'That one child died too'

Jadi Raja ini / dia  
 and so Sultan this he

aku sah (T.IIIc)  
 authorized

'And so the Sultan authorized it'

The same construction can also be found in a subordinate clause. In that case the anaphoric pronoun *yang* is cross-referenced by the pronoun subject:

Lelaki yang / dia mau ingin  
 man who he want longing

jadi suanggi (T.IVc)  
 become evil spirit

'The man who wanted very much to become an evil spirit'

Jadi ada yang / dong carita  
 so there are who they tell

bilang: ...  
 say: ...

'So there are (people) who tell that...'

## 2.14 Post-verbal *suda*

In NMM a verb can be followed by *suda* which then functions as a modal particle indicating a strong emotional involvement of the actor:

Ah ini suanggi ini ...lebe bae  
 Oh this evil spirit this...better

kasi pulang suda (T.IV)  
 make return !!!

'Oh I'd really better get rid of this evil spirit!'

Ana itu memang paling  
 children those certainly very much

dorang sayangi suda itu. (T.IVc)  
 they love !!! those

'Certainly they loved those children very, very much!'

## 2.15 Prepositions

1. The preposition *di* has not only a lo-

cational meaning but also a directional meaning in NMM and is used in contexts where SI would require *ke*:

Dia lari di gunung (T.Ic)  
 he ran to mountain

'He fled to the mountain'

Kedua-duanya jalan-jalan di  
 the two of them walked to

satu tempat yang kosong itu (T.IVc)  
 one place that empty that

'The two of them walked to a certain place which was bare'

2. NMM *pa* and *sama*, cognate with SI *pada* and *sama* respectively are selected by verbs which in SI have a direct object or select a different preposition:

SI	NMM	
<i>bertanya kepada</i>	<i>tanya pa</i>	'to ask some-one'
<i>melihat kepada</i>	<i>lia pa</i>	'to look at'
<i>mendapati</i>	<i>dapa pa</i>	'to get hold of'
<i>mengingat</i>	<i>inga sama</i>	'to think of'
<i>(berkata kepada)</i>	<i>bilang sama</i>	'to say to'
<i>sampai (pada, kepada)</i>	<i>sampe sama</i>	'to arrive at, to reach'

## 2.16 The use of *sampe*

NMM *sampe*, like its SI counterpart *sampai*, is used as a verb meaning 'to reach' and as a preposition meaning 'to, till' but it is also used, unlike *sampai*, as an adverb meaning something like 'nevertheless' and as a conjunction meaning 'therefore, as a result of that':

Kalo sampe kasi maso dalam  
 if nevertheless made enter inside

pagar, dalam arti dia mau  
 fence, in meaning he want

musu (T.II)  
 hostile

'If nevertheless he brought (his knife) inside the fence, that would mean that he was hostile'

Disitu ada kayu, kayu dia pu nama  
 there was tree, tree its name

toguis. Bikin kampung disitu, sampe  
 toguis. Made village there, therefore

kampung nama Toguis (T.III)  
 village name Toguis

'There was a toguis tree on that spot. They made their village there, and therefore the village is called Toguis'

*Itu di Manado hanya singga. Sampe*  
those at Manado only called. And so

*dia punya pepata, dengan bahasa*  
one's expression in language

*Ternate nyatakan:...* (T.IIIc)  
Ternate declare:

'Those (people) called only at Manado.  
Because of that, there is an expression,  
which says, in the Ternate language:...

*Orang Ternate naik bawa kayu*  
Men Ternate went up brought wood

*lawan sadikit kaseh sama itu schepper.*  
cinnamon a little gave to the skipper.

*Preksa, dia bilang: "Barguna apa*  
Inspected he said: "Have use what

*dengan barang ini!" dia buang itu.*  
with stuff this!" he threw away it.

*Bagitu Balau Sikau dia turong dan*  
So Balau Sikau he went down and

*pangayon. Abis orang Engeris*  
rowed away. After that men English

*rasah itu kayu lawan rasahnya panas,*  
tasted that wood cinnamon its taste hot

*trus panggil orang Ternate tapi suda*  
at once called men Ternate but already

*tiada mau.*  
not want.

Note the scarcity of pronouns which is also a feature of texts II and III. Note also the un-NMM form *menyahut* instead of *sahut* after *kaseh*, and the *-nya* possessive *rasahnya* instead of the construction with *punya*.

English translation:

At that time the Hukom Waihir<sup>9</sup> arrived at Jokatra<sup>10</sup> where he came upon a ship with Englishmen; thereupon the English asked them: "Who are you?" The men from Ternate answered: "We are from Ternate in the Moluccas". "What are you doing here?" "Oh nothing, only the Sultan of the Moluccas is very ill so he ordered us to seek a white-skinned man to mix a medicine for him". "In that case please come aboard". The men from Ternate came aboard and brought a bit of cinnamon which they presented to the skipper. He inspected it and said: "What's the use of this stuff!" and he threw it away. So Balau Sikau<sup>11</sup> left the ship and rowed away. The English tried the cinnamon and the taste was spicy. At once they called out to the men of Ternate but they did not want (to come back) any more.

### 3.2 Text II

This text was recorded in the Sahu District in North Halmahera. The speaker was a former village head of middle age who gave a short exposé of some of the old customs of the Sahu people. He begins his narrative in the first person, then switches to the third person plural, and finally settles for the third person singular.

## 3 ILLUSTRATIVE TEXTS AND GLOSSARY

### 3.1 Text I

This is a passage from the History of Ternate, written about 1870 by Naijah, a native of Ternate, in both the Ternate and the North-Moluccan Malay languages. It serves to give some time perspective to the other texts, which I recorded during my field work in the area and shows that many of the features of present-day NMM were at that time present in the language. It is to my knowledge the oldest example of NMM extant.<sup>7</sup>

The full text was published by Van der Crab (1876) who added a Dutch translation and footnotes. The English translation is mine, and the original Dutch spelling has been changed in accordance with modern Indonesian orthography.<sup>8</sup> For clarity's sake also the original punctuation has been changed in accordance with current use.

*Tempo itu dia hukom Waihir sampe*  
Time that he hukom Waihir arrived

*di Jokatra dapa orang Engeris*  
at Jokatra came upon men English

*satu kapal dan bagitu orang Engeris*  
one ship and like that men English

*tanya: "Ngoni sapa?" Orang Ternate kaseh*  
asked: "You who?" Men Ternate gave

*menyahut "Kitorang Muloko Ternate".*  
answered "We Moluccas Ternate".

*"Apa ngoni punya fandun?" Orang Ternate*  
"What your business?" Men Ternate

*bilang: "Trada hanya Raja Moloko*  
said: "Nothing, only Rajah Moluccas

*ada sakit kras jadi suruh cari orang*  
is ill very so ordered seek person

*kulit putih bikin dia punya ubat*  
skin white make his medicine

*punya campor". "Kalau bagitu mari naik".*  
its mixture". "If so come climb".

Jadi adat pertama: kita maso  
So custom first I enter

kampong, kalu dulu-dulu orang tua-tua  
village if formerly men elderly

dulu pake tolu, dorang musu angka  
formerly wore hat they had to take off

dulu, tolu. Atau topi juga musu  
first hat. Or cap also had to

angkat. Itu tanda manghormati  
take off. That token pay respect to

kampong, atau gam. Kədua: kalo dia  
village or gam. Secondly if he

maso di halaman ruma, dia liwat  
entered into front yard house he passed

itu pagar, dia harus letakkan itu  
the fence he had to put down the

peda di luar. Di luar pagar.  
machete at outside. At outside fence.

Tara bole kasi masu di dalam pagar.  
Not allowed make enter into inside fence.

Kalu sampe kasi maso dalam pagar,  
If nevertheless make enter inside fence

dalam arti dia mau musu. Kətiga:  
in meaning he wanted hostile. Thirdly

kalu dia maso ruma, dia harus minta  
if he entered house he had to ask for

isin atau kasi hormati dulu. Tuan  
permission or give respect first. Owner

ruma. Baru dia masok. Baru  
house. Only then he entered. Only then

tuan ruma suru: duduk.  
owner house told sit down.

Note the variant forms: *kalo*, *kalu*; *maso*, *masu*, *masuk*; *angka*, *angkat*. Influence of SI we see in: *manghormati*, *halaman*, *pərtama*, *kədua*, *kətiga*, *harus*. A peculiarity not described in section 2 is: *dalam arti* (SI: *artinya*) probably influenced by the speaker's mother tongue Sahu which has *dara* 'deep, contents, meaning'. *Gam* is the word for village in most of the North Halmahera languages; *tolu* (Sahu: *tolum*) is a sun hat made of leaves of the sugar palm.

English translation:

So, the first custom: I enter the village - if this were the past, the elders formerly used to wear a hat made of palm leaves - they first had to take that hat off. The same with the cap (*kopiah*), one had to take it off. As a sign that one paid respect to the kampong, or *gam* (as we say). Secondly: if someone entered the front yard of a house and came past

the fence, he had to leave his machete outside. Outside the fence. He was not allowed to bring it inside the fence. If he nevertheless brought it inside the fence that was a sign that he intended to be hostile. Thirdly: when he entered the house he had to ask permission, or pay his respects first. To the owner of the house. Only then could he enter. Only then would the owner of the house invite him to sit down.

### 3.3 Text III

This text consists of two extracts from the history of the Tobaru people in North Halmahera as told by Om Katon from Tongute Goin (Ibu District), the local authority on matters historical. According to this tradition the Tobaru originally came from Sangir (Sangir and Talaud Islands). They were forced to leave the island after a quarrel. After a long odyssey during which they called at several places in Sulawesi they ended up on the northwest coast of North Halmahera.

The first extract contains the explanation of the names of two present-day Tobaru villages. The second is the conclusion of the narrative.

Pertama satu kelompok berangkat cari  
First one group left seek

tampa tinggal. Lalu kelompok orang yang  
place to stay. And group people who

pertama berjalan, lalu iku ura  
first went and followed ridge

tanah liat laut di bawa. Jadi dengan  
land saw sea below. So with

bahasa Tobaru: Tokuoko. Itu, bahasa  
language Tobaru Tokuoko. That language

Indonesia: yang berjalan ikut  
Indonesian those who went following

tanah ka lau, liat laut. Jadi, bikin  
land to sea saw sea. So made

kampung disitu. Dia pe nama Tokuoko.  
village there. Its name Tokuoko.

Jadi kedua, satu kelompok lagi naik  
Then second one group more went up

disitu ada kayu, kayu dia pu nama kayu  
there was tree tree its name tree

toguis. Bikin kampung disitu sampe  
toguis. Made village there because of

kampung nama Toguis.  
that village name Toguis.

Jadi, dinamai: orang Tobaru.

So are called people Tobaru.



*Artinya: orang baru datang. Orang*  
Its meaning people newly come. People  
*baru. Orang baru datang, jadi: To-baru.*  
new. People newly arrive so To-baru.

*Dan orang sangka: Tondano; bukan! Dari*  
And people think Tondano no! From

*Sangir. Ada kesalahan. Sampai*  
Sangir. There was offence. So that

*dalam kampong itu dorang mau bunu*  
in village that they wanted kill

*dorang itu. Jadi dorang itu bersatu*  
them those. So people the together

*dalam keluarga itu, lebae berangkat*  
in family that better depart

*dari pulau itu. Sampai ada*  
from island that. Because there is

*ingat sejarah itu sampai dulu Tobaru,*  
remember history that till past Tobaru

*Sangir baku-dapa, dibunu.*  
Sangir met each other were killed.

*Karena malu. Dan, ada*  
Because ashamed. And there were

*sentimen. Karena Tobaru berangkat dari*  
hostility. Because Tobaru departed from

*Sangir, menuru sejarah dorang mau*  
Sangir according to history they wanted

*bunu, jadi dorang inga ini*  
kill and they remembered this

*jadi baku-bunu terus.*  
therefore kill each other all the time.

*Untung-untung ini agama masuk!*  
Thank goodness the religion came!

*Mau masuk, tapi sampe sekarang masi*  
Want come in but till now still

*ada-ada. Sangir, kalo di prau, malam,*  
there is. Sangirese if in canoe night

*di Masoma, di Loloda Utara, kalo buta*  
at Masoma in Loloda North if dark

*pasti dong kasi bunu.*  
sure they kill.

The history of the Tobaru is told in a formal and at the same time almost telegraphic style. The formality is reflected in the relatively large number of SI words (*berjalan, dinamai, artinya, etc.*), the telegraphic style by the very sparse use of personal pronouns. Note again the formal variation: *iku/ikut, lau/laut, inga/ingat, kalo/kalau, sampe/sampai, dorang/dong, dia pe/dia pu.*

English translation:

First one group left looking for a place to stay. And the first group of people went on its way and following a ridge saw the sea below them. So, in the Tobaru language that is: *tokuoko*. That is in Indonesian: those who went over land to the sea and saw it. So they built a village there. Its name was Tokuoko. Then one group, the second, (left and) they went up (into the interior). There was a tree there, its name was *toguis*. They made their village there and so their village was called Toguis.

So they are called the Tobaru people. That means: people who have just arrived. Newcomers. And there are people who think: (from) Tondano.<sup>12</sup> That is not true. They came from Sangir. An offence was committed. As a result the people in that village wanted to kill them. And so the people who belonged to that one family thought it better to depart from the island. Because the Tobaru still remembered that history till the (recent) past, Sangirese were killed by them when they encountered each other. Because they felt ashamed. And, there were bad feelings. Because the Tobaru departed from Sangir and according to history they (the Sangirese) wanted to kill them, they killed each other all the time. Thank goodness the (Christian) religion came! Or: is coming in, but till now it still happens occasionally. If there are Sangirese in a canoe at night at Masoma in North Loloda they surely will be killed when it is dark.

#### 3.4 Text IV

This last text is part of a folktale recorded on Makian Island. The storyteller who worked as a public servant in Ngofakiaha came from the West Makian village of Bobawa. In the first part of the story a young couple with two children loses one of them. The father, convinced that an evil spirit has killed the child now wants to become such a spirit himself to take revenge by killing people himself. He finds an old sorcerer who is prepared to help him and who after two unsuccessful attempts succeeds in transforming him into an evil spirit.<sup>13</sup>

*Terus si paitua ini terus*  
Thereupon the old man this at once

*kasi tau bilang sama si laki itu: "Saka-*  
let know said to the man that "Now

*rang ngana su jadi suanggi.*  
you already became evil spirit.

*Jadi, kalau ngana mau ini makan orang,*  
So if you want these eat people

*ngana pigi di masuo-masuo begitu, baru*  
you go to crossroads like that then

ngana jaga. Jadi kalo ngana  
 you keep watch. And so if you  
 jaga itu orang yang bikin rame,  
 look out for those people who make merry  
 a itu! Ngana jaga kalau orang  
 that's it! You watch if people  
 datang". Jadi begitu dia inga itu  
 come". So as he obeyed that  
 pesan itu, terus dia jaga. Satu  
 order that at once he kept watch. One  
 saat, ada bikin rame. Dia suda  
 time were making merry. He already  
 jaga di persimpangan jalan. Begitu  
 kept watch at crossing roads. Thus  
 orang lalu-lalu itu jalan itu; jalan  
 people passed along the road that walked  
 jalan jalan..... laki-laki itu, nona-nona,  
 walked walked.. men the girls  
 nyongnyong, dong bajalan. Ana-ana, begitu  
 boys they walked. Children thus  
 bajalan. Ada pesan dari orang  
 walked. There was instruction from man  
 tua itu: "Kalo ngana lia itu orang  
 old that "If you see that person  
 punya sifat itu lengkap, artinya  
 his features those complete that is  
 dari anggota semua anggota itu lengkap,  
 of limbs all limbs those complete  
 itu jangan ngana tangkap! Kalo ngana  
 that don't you grab it! If you  
 tangkap memang sala! Jadi kalo ngana mo  
 grab surely wrong! So if you want  
 ingin tangkap pa dia, itu ngana tangkap  
 desire grab at him that you grab  
 orang yang anggotanya kurang". Ya,  
 person who his limbs incomplete". Yes,  
 begitu. Terus, serta yang terahir  
 like that. It went on and the last one  
 ana satu dia lewat, dia punya kepalanya  
 child one it passed its head  
 tida ada. Setelah dia dapa lia  
 not was there. After he could see  
 itu kepalanya tida ada terus  
 that head its not was there straightaway  
 dia tangkap. Tangkap, dapa. Dapa  
 he grabbed. Grabbed caught. Got hold  
 pa dia terus dia makan. Makan pa dia,  
 of it at once he ate. Ate of it

itu suanggi makan pa dia. Dia makang,  
 the evil spirit ate of it. He ate  
 jadi begitu dia pe beso ke bawa, dia pe  
 and so its next day to below his  
 ana meninggal. Ana satu dia meninggal  
 child died. Child one it died  
 lagi. Begitu dia pikir pikir "Allah, ini  
 too. That so he thought "God this  
 mungkin karena saya suanggi saya  
 possibly because I evil spirit I  
 makan saya punya ana sendiri!" Dia  
 ate my child myself!" He  
 terus pikir punya pikir; "Ah, ini  
 then thought its thought "Oh this  
 suanggi ini..lebai kasi pulang  
 evil spirit this better send home  
 suda supaya saya jangan jadi  
 for sure so that I do not become  
 suanggi lagi!"  
 evil spirit any more!"

The passage illustrates almost every point dealt with in section 2. At the same time influence of SI is evident in the choice of words and in the use of the -nya possessive, sometimes in addition to the NMM construction as in *dia punya kepalanya* (the story begins with: *Carita ini dia punya judulnya itu suanggi* 'The title of the story is: The Evil Spirit'). Again we see the alternation between NMM and SI word forms: *bugitu/begitu, makang/makan, mo/mau*.

#### English translation:

Then the old man told that man straightaway: "Now you have become an evil spirit. So if you want to eat those people you have to go to the crossroads and to keep watch there. And if you look out for people who are making merry, that's it! You have to watch if there are people coming". So, obeying those instructions he at once began to keep watch. One day there was a feast. He was already on the look out at the crossroads. There were people walking along the road - they walked, and walked, and walked...men, grown-up girls and boys were walking there. And children, too. The old man had given him an instruction: "If you see a person who is intact, that is, whose limbs are all there, you should not try to catch it. If you do, you'll not get hold of him. So, if you really want to catch him, then you have to seize a person who is missing a limb". Yes, that's what he said. So it went on, and at the very last a child came along whose head was missing. When he saw that the head was missing he immediately grabbed it. He grabbed, and

caught it. When he had caught it he ate it up. He ate it, that evil spirit ate it. And the day after he had done that his child died. That only (remaining) child died too! And he thought: "God, possibly this happened because I as an evil spirit ate my own child!" And then he thought: "Oh, it's better that I get rid of this evil spirit so that I do not change into it any more!"

<i>kasi pulang</i>	<i>memulangkan</i>	to send home
<i>kasi tau</i>	<i>memberitahu</i>	to let know, inform
<i>kita</i>	<i>saya</i>	I
<i>kitorang</i>	<i>kami, kita</i>	we
<i>kayu</i>	<i>pohon (kayu)</i>	tree
<i>lau</i>	<i>laut</i>	the sea
<i>lawan</i>	<i>lawang</i>	cinnamon
<i>lalu-lalu</i>	<i>melalui</i>	to pass
<i>lebae/lebai</i>	<i>lebih baik</i>	better, it's better to..
<i>lia</i>	<i>melihat</i>	to see
<i>liwat</i>	<i>lewat, mele-wati</i>	via; to pass by
<i>makang</i>	<i>makan</i>	to eat
<i>masi</i>	<i>masih</i>	still
<i>maso/masu</i>	<i>masuk</i>	to enter
<i>masuo-masuo</i>	<i>persimpangan jalan</i>	crossroads ( <i>masuo-masuo</i> is probably a West-Makian word)
<i>mənuru</i>	<i>menurut</i>	according to
<i>mo</i>	<i>mau</i>	to want, to intend
<i>musi</i>	<i>mesti</i>	must, have to
<i>musu</i>	<i>bermusuhan</i>	hostile
<i>ngana</i>	<i>engkau</i>	you sg.
<i>ngoni</i>	<i>kamu</i>	you pl.
<i>nyongnyong</i>	<i>bujang</i>	grown-up boy
<i>pa</i>	<i>pada</i>	to, at; see 2.15.
<i>paitua</i>	<i>orang tua</i>	old man
<i>pake</i>	<i>memakai</i>	to use, to wear
<i>pangayon</i>	<i>mendayung</i>	to row
<i>panggil</i>	<i>memanggil</i>	to call
<i>peda</i>	<i>parang</i>	machete, bush-knife
<i>pəsan</i>	<i>memesani</i>	to order, to instruct
<i>pi/pigi</i>	<i>pergi</i>	to go (away)
<i>preksa</i>	<i>memeriksa</i>	to inspect
<i>puti</i>	<i>putih</i>	white
<i>rame</i>	<i>ramai</i>	merry
<i>rasah</i>	<i>merasai</i>	to taste, to try (food)
<i>ruma</i>	<i>rumah</i>	house
<i>sala</i>	<i>salah</i>	wrong
<i>sama</i>	<i>kepada</i>	to; see 2.15.
<i>sampe</i>	<i>sampai</i>	to reach; consequently; see 2.16.
<i>sangka</i>	<i>menyangka</i>	to think, to suppose
<i>schepper</i>	<i>nakhoda</i>	skipper (Dutch: schipper)
<i>saya punya</i>	(noun + <i>saya</i> )	my; see 2.10.
<i>so/su/suda</i>	<i>sudah</i>	already; see 2.14.
<i>suru</i>	<i>menyuruh</i>	to order
<i>tampa</i>	<i>tempat</i>	place
<i>tangkap (pa)</i>	<i>menangkap</i>	to seize (here also: to try to seize, to make a grab for)
<i>tanya</i>	<i>bertanya</i>	to ask
<i>tara</i>	<i>tidak</i>	not
<i>trada</i>	<i>tidak ada</i>	there is not
<i>trus</i>	<i>terus</i>	immediately, at once
<i>turong</i>	<i>turun</i>	to descend, go down

### 3.5 Glossary to the texts

<b>NMM</b>	<b>SI</b>	
<i>abis (itu)</i>	<i>habis itu</i>	afterwards
<i>ada (+ Verb)</i>	<i>sedang</i>	progressive aspect, see 2.12.
<i>ana</i>	<i>anak</i>	child
<i>angka</i>	<i>mengangkat</i>	to lift up, raise
<i>bagitu</i>	<i>begitu</i>	so, like that
<i>bajalan</i>	<i>berjalan</i>	to walk
<i>baku-bunu</i>	<i>saling membunuh</i>	to kill each other
<i>baku-dapa</i>	<i>bertemu dengan</i>	to come upon, to meet
<i>barguna</i>	<i>berguna</i>	to have use, be useful
<i>beso</i>	<i>besok</i>	tomorrow
<i>dia pe beso</i>	<i>besoknya</i>	the next day
<i>bikin</i>	<i>membuat</i>	to make, to do
<i>bole</i>	<i>boleh</i>	allowed
<i>buang</i>	<i>membuang</i>	to throw away
<i>bugitu = bagitu</i>		
<i>bunu</i>	<i>membunuh</i>	to kill
<i>campor</i>	<i>campuran</i>	mixture
<i>cari</i>	<i>mencari</i>	to seek, look for
<i>dalam arti</i>	<i>artinya</i>	it means, its meaning is
<i>dapa (pa)</i>	<i>mendapat</i>	to catch, to get; to be able to
<i>di</i>	<i>di, ke</i>	at, to
<i>dia pe/pu/</i>	<i>-nya</i>	his, her, see 2.10.
<i>pun/punya</i>		
<i>dong = dorang</i>		
<i>dorang</i>	<i>mereka</i>	they
<i>dulu</i>	<i>dahulu</i>	formerly, first
<i>fandun</i>	<i>?</i>	(Meaning uncertain; possible: intentions, what one is going to do)
<i>iku</i>	<i>mengikut</i>	to follow
<i>inga</i>	<i>mengingat</i>	to think of, to obey
<i>isin</i>	<i>izin</i>	permission
<i>jaga</i>	<i>menjaga</i>	to keep watch, look out for
<i>ka</i>	<i>ke</i>	to(wards)
<i>kalo/kalu</i>	<i>kalau</i>	if
<i>kaseh = kasi</i>		
<i>kasi</i>	<i>memberi(kan)</i>	to give
<i>kasi bunu</i>	<i>membunuh</i>	to kill, see 2.12.
<i>kasi hormati</i>	<i>memberi hormat</i>	to pay respect
<i>kasi maso/masu</i>	<i>memasukkan</i>	to bring inside

1. See Collins 1980 for the view that Ambonese Malay is a creole. Watuseke (1981) writes (the translation is mine): "(Manado Malay is) ... the colloquial language and therefore solely a spoken language- in Manado, and the common means of communication in the Minahasa and neighbouring areas (...). It probably was the spoken language, the daily language, of the so-called 'burgers' who had settled mainly in Manado and other coastal towns where the V.O.C. had establishments." I take this to mean that Manado (Minahasa) Malay indeed is, and has been for a long time, the mother tongue of a considerable number of its speakers.

According to Collins (personal communication) North-Moluccan Malay is spoken as a first language by communities in Ternate as well as on Bacan and elsewhere. I have not investigated this matter and so have no information on it. If there are such communities in Ternate they are relatively small and not immediately obvious. It would be worthwhile to investigate if first language NMM differs from contact language NMM and if so, if there are significant differences between the creolized forms in, say, Ternate and Bacan.

2. The earliest Malay texts from the area are two letters written on behalf of the Sultan of Ternate to the king of Portugal. They date from around 1520 and are definitely not written in North Moluccan Malay although they contain a few features also present in that language: *a* instead of *ə* (*manyuroh*, *baparang* for *menyuruh*, *berperang*) and the use of *pada* with *bunoh*: *mau bunoh pada* for *mau membunuh*. The letters further contain a few non-Austro-nesian features such as preverbal object, which are not present in North-Moluccan Malay. They were published by Blagden (1930).
3. For further details the reader can in due course consult my survey of the non-Austronesian languages of North Halmahera (Voorhoeve, forthcoming).
4. My preliminary NMM wordlist of 563 items contains 92 loan words from Ternate, 34 from Dutch, 11 from Portuguese, and 66 unidentified non-SI words. The relatively large number of loans from Ternate is a feature which is shared by Minahasa Malay, not by Ambonese Malay.
5. See 2.10. for further remarks on these forms.
6. The reference is to the texts in section 3. These are only excerpts from the original texts. When I use an example from a part of a text not included in this paper the reference is marked *c* (complement): IIIc, IVc. The full text of I can be found in Crab 1878; that of IV in Voorhoeve, ed. 1983. The remaining parts of II and III are among my unpublished data.
7. See note 2.

8. That is, Dutch *oe* is rewritten as *u*, *dj* as *j*, *tj* as *c* and *j* as *y*. For the rest the spelling of the published original (which is a transcription of a manuscript in Arabic script) has been retained.
9. *Hukom*: a title, probably the same as *hukama* 'judge, scholar in Islamic law'. Waihir was in fact on his way to enlist the help of the Dutch against the Spaniards and the Tidorese with whom Ternate was at war.
10. Jokatra was a place somewhere in the South Sulawesi area.
11. Balau Sikau is earlier described as a slave of Hukom Waihir.
12. In north Sulawesi.
13. A *suanggi* is a person who has the power to leave his body and roam around as a spirit. Suanggis are always evil and kill people by eating their spiritual bodies. The victim does not notice that he is being 'eaten' but dies a short time afterwards.

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